587 a man by adoption, or if she marries into another family, her grown
428 son, rather than herself, is the heir. She herself has no right to the personal fortune of her deceased husband, even if she has no grown son. The property of her husband is distributed equally among relatives and neighbors of the deceased, under the chieftain's supervision; or the fu-yeh of the lamasery /74/ in the district in which the deceased lived inherits the property, which he re-sells if he cannot use it himself. The personal property of a deceased mother is divided equally among her daughters and daughters-in-law. If there are no female survivors, it is sold and the proceeds go to the nearest relatives.

631 The territory of the Mewu-Fantzu was formerly part of the Tibetan province of Amdo which became the provinces of Ch'inghai and Kansu. We still use the word Amdo for the region that lies west of the pasturelands of the Mewu-Fantzu. Formerly the territory was governed from the old part of the city of T'ao-chou. After the district of Hsia-ho was founded 10 years ago, it came under that administration. The district city of Hsia-ho developed from the market town that sprang up next to Labrang Lamasery. The Fantzu who belong to the Labrang Lamasery are called Na-fan-örl-she-si-tsu, Tibetan: Labrang gomba (meaning "temple") chala-diebu, and the Mewu-Fantzu are a tribe originating from these. It is said that a total of 108 lamaseries are subordinate to the great incarnation at Labrang. Only three of these are in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu.

643 At the head of the Mewu-Fantzu is a tribal chieftain known as t'ou-mu, sometimes also t'u-szu; he has the title of Mewu-huan-pu. There are said to be 150 tent encampments under his jurisdiction, as well as the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu. A tent encampment consists of 10 to 40 tents. These figures seem very high to me, considering the extremely sparse settlement of the Mewu-Fantzu territory.

● 648 The t'ou-mu of the Mewu tribe is responsible to the Chinese district official (hsien-chang) of Hsia-ho in administrative matters, to the Huang-szu-ling (which may be roughly translated "General Huang"), i.e., the present t'u-szu of Labrang, in military matters, and to the Labrang Lamasery in religious matters.

"Huang-szu-ling" is the "t'u-szu" (feudal lord) of a large area, to which that of the Mewu-Fantzu belongs. Even after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, the t'u-szu maintained considerable independence in the /75/ Chinese-governed border areas inhabited by non-Chinese peoples (Tibetans, Lolo, Tai). Taxes were paid to the t'u-szu, and in case of war they could recruit soldiers from their

Mewu

region. Originally the Chinese government played the role of the highest liege lord, since the t'u-szu had to pay taxes to it and lend assistance in war. The Chinese government installed the t'u-szu in office, that is to say, it gave the t'u-szu family its domain to a certain extent as an hereditary feudal possession. The Huang-szu-ling was installed only 7 or 8 years ago (that is, about 1928) by the Chinese government. His family, known for its war-like (or rather marauding) enterprises, comes from the province of Hsik'ang, south of Kansu. It is characteristic for the intellectual and social attitude of a feudal society that the highest incarnation of the great Labrang Lamasery is a brother of the Huang-szu-ling. The independence of the Huang-szu-ling was very much curtailed by the Chinese government, especially in the organization of the district of Hsia-ho. The Mewu-Fantzu henceforth do not have to pay their taxes to the Huang-szu-ling, but the t'ou-mu and his sub-chiefs transfer the taxes they collect directly to the Chinese district officials.

One of the lamaseries - Mewu-hsin-szu or new Mewu lamasery - in the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu is directly under the administration of the t'ou-mu. The territory of Mewu-chiu-szu - old Mewu lamasery - is under the administration of three sub-chiefs. The territory of Lao-da-ma is under two sub-chiefs, one of whom has a higher rank than all the rest. Sedentary Fantzu as well as tent nomads are also under the administration of the sub-chiefs.

The t'ou-mu lives alternately in a regular house situated between He-tso and Mewu-hsin-szu, or in a tent. The latter is not different from the tents of other Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has a representative in each of the three lamaseries in his area, and he sometimes lives with them. The office of the t'ou-mu is hereditary from father to eldest son. If the son is not suited to the position, the /76/ father has the right to name a son that is more qualified as his successor. If the t'ou-mu has no sons, his adopted son-in-law becomes his successor. A definite number of families are under the administration of a chief and his five sub-chiefs. Each of these families has a right to five definite pasture areas. There are no marriage restrictions within the group of families governed by a t'ou-mu. The t'ou-mu must see to it that people from a strange tribe under no circumstances pasture their animals in the region under his jurisdiction. He has more than ten officials (Chinese: kuan-shih) who are laymen, and in addition the above-mentioned representatives in the lamaseries. They, too, are known as kuan-shih, but are lamas. Their task, among other things, is to welcome lamasery guests. There are no particular office-holders apart from the t'ou-mu, his five sub-chiefs

Mewu

643 and the kuan-shih. Since the t'ou-mu does not speak Chinese, he
624 has a Chinese secretary to deal with the district officials, with whom he communicates through an interpreter. The t'ou-mu appoints the kuan-shih and discharges them if they are not qualified. The kuan-shih are not paid. Everyone is obliged to accept the post of kuan-shih if appointed by the t'ou-mu. Length of office is not determined; it runs between one to three years. The kuan-shih must help the t'ou-mu carry out his duties. For example, they are sent by him to some tent community to conduct inquiries in legal matters, such as to investigate a plunder. The tent communities do not have a special local council.

643 The chief duties of the t'ou-mu are the following: He regulates
701 the distribution of pastureland, and determines when the nomads
648 are to move from one pasture to another. The oatfields in the region of the winter pasturelands are the property of the t'ou-mu and are distributed by him. Rent, usually in the form of butter, must be paid him for the oatfields. He is the war lord of the tribe, and as such he can recruit eligible men for military service, /77/ likewise mounts and pack animals (horses and yaks). In case of war he must
643 put his soldiers at the disposal of the t'u-szu of Labrang. He and
651 his sub-chiefs must collect the taxes levied by the Chinese govern-
648 ment on the Fantzu, and hand them over to the district official of Hsia-ho. I could not ascertain whether the t'ou-mu withholds a certain sum for himself from the taxes he collects. The t'ou-mu must also put mounts and pack animals at the disposal of the Chinese district official when the latter or one of his subordinates travels
643 through the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu. The t'ou-mu has the
681 same prerogatives as an incarnation, in that he can demand a ninefold indemnity if he has been robbed. The t'ou-mu also has the privilege of donating the largest branch of a bush and a particularly long dart for the obo at the obo festival.

From what we have said about the position and authority of the t'ou-mu, it follows that he and his officials do not have a particularly great influence on the members of a tribe. We have also mentioned the fact that the individual tent communities do not
618 have regular chieftains. As far as I could ascertain, the clan does not have a great influence in the social and judicial life. There are no clan chieftains like the Chinese tsu-ch'ang.

375 On the other hand, certain societies have formed which are given the general name of ts'aowa (1) and whose chief function

1. Ekvall 4), page 69, briefly mentions these societies

563 The Mewu-Fantzu are already to a certain extent dependent on the Chinese, since they live relatively near them. This dependence is, however, still a rather indirect one, and is expressed through the secular Fantzu ruler of Labrang, the "Huang-szu-ling."

721 Wars between Fantzu and Chinese no longer occur, since the
563 Fantzu respect the superior military might of the Chinese. But it
648 often happens that Chinese are robbed by Fantzu. Such cases are, as a rule, brought before the court of the Huang-szu-ling who, according to my interpreter, wherever possible sides with the Fantzu. He arranges the payment of damages. The Fantzu are, however, not too friendly with the Chinese, first of all because they feel oppressed by the taxes which the Chinese government imposes on them, and, secondly, because the Chinese are pushing into their territory as colonists. However, the latter reason affects only the sedentary Fantzu to any practical extent.

563 The Fantzu have a different and closer relationship with the Chinese Mohammedans who play a special part in the political and social life of the country. (1) In language and material culture

> 1. Ekvall describes in detail the relationship between the Fantzu - nomadic and sedentary - and the Chinese and Mohammedans.

these Mohammedans do not differ from actual Chinese, but the latter regard them /88/ more or less as aliens. They are largely descendants of Turkish tribes, who in the course of time settled in Kansu and intermarried with the Chinese. In external appearance (they are a Turanian race rather than Sinic) (2) as well as in

> 2. Terms according to von Eickstedt 15).

character, they are often very different from the Chinese. The Mohammedans live in Kansu as farmers, merchants and innkeepers. As traders they have penetrated far into Fantzu territory and constitute the chief element of the population in the market towns which have arisen in the vicinity of the large lamaseries. If Mohammedans are robbed by Fantzu they are much more apt to follow their natural war-like bent and fight than are the Chinese. Thus Fantzu raids are sometimes followed by minor avenging expeditions on the part of the Mohammedans. Eleven years ago (about 1925) there was the last major warlike entanglement between Mohammedans
600 and Fantzu. The relationship of the Mohammedans to the Chinese